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The Shape of Things

THE RETIREMENT OF NELSON ROCKEFELLER AS Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America and his replacement by Spruille Braden is a hemispheric victory for democracy. The Rockefeller interests, Standard Oil and Chase National, have always been pillars of dollar diplomacy and dictatorship in Latin America. It was a sour commentary on the effectiveness of press agentry that a member of the family, backstopped by a leading official of the Chase bank, should have turned up in the Good Neighbor policy period as Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and then as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America. Nelson Rockefeller helped engineer the cabal by which Argentina was admitted to the United Nations at San Francisco. It is good to see that his last-minute change of front—in a speech at Boston he ingenuously declared that the Argentine government rather than its people had violated the Chapultepec pledges—did not save his job in the State Department. The militant attitude taken by Braden at Buenos Aires against the Perón dictatorship makes his promotion the sign of a new and more vigorous policy at Washington. In view of the broken pledges cited by Rockefeller himself, we now have ample basis for breaking off diplomatic relations with Perón.

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THE ARGENTINE PEOPLE WANT DEMOCRACY. BUT their dictator still thinks he can make a deal. He is intensifying his efforts to split Argentina's most powerful political organization, the Radical Party. Last week, it is true, two of its members joined his Cabinet, but the vast majority of Radicals remain united in opposition to Perón and popular determination to oust him is undiminished. This was demonstrated once again on V-J Day, which became the occasion for three days of civil strife in Buenos Aires. Armed soldiers attacked, killed, and wounded civilians celebrating the Allied victory. Pro-democratic crowds fought back with bare hands, sticks, and clubs. The next day Perón was afraid to make a public appearance at the annual Livestock Show, a function always attended by the highest state dignitaries. Had he been there he would not have relished the repeated shouts of "Death to Perón," and "We want no more dictatorships," or the ovation to Spruille Braden, who only the previous day had asserted that the democracies "must and will establish the only legitimate sovereignty—the sovereignty of the people." Later Braden paid a well-deserved tribute to his audience when he said that "there are few peoples on earth so well prepared to exercise healthy democracy" as the Argentines. He is right. The people of Argentina are undergoing democracy's stiffest training course—resistance to a fascist dictator. Many have already suffered torture and im-

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prisonment, many have been exiled or killed. But they are clearly determined to go on fighting until the last battle is won.

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LAST WEEK IT SEEMED TO EVEN THE LEAST optimistic observers that the Spanish republicans in Mexico were about to reach an agreement on the formation of a new government. Señor Martinez Barrio had offered the Premiership to Señor José Giral, who had promptly invited the participation of the leading political groups and had proposed Dr. Negrín as Vice-President of the Cortes and as Foreign Minister. As we go to press, we learn that this solution was not acceptable to important sections of the working-class movement. The majority section of the Socialist Party, as well as the Communist Party, has rejected Señor Giral's solution. Moreover, the General Union of Workers (U. G. T.) is to be represented solely by Señor Prieto, who speaks only for a minority of the U. G. T., while the invitation to the National Confederation of Labor was so obscure that it might almost be assumed that there was a wish in some quarters to exclude the C. N. T. from policy-making decisions. This apparent exclusion of groups whose contribution to the Loyalist cause in the Spanish war was tremendous in volume and magnificent in quality seems to us neither justifiable nor realistic. The fact is that a republican government which does not have their support and collaboration has little chance of survival. We hope, therefore, that by the time our next issue appears the Cabinet list finally submitted to the Cortes for approval will be much broader than the one now proposed.

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THE ONE HOPE OF MAINTAINING SOME ELEMENT of order in reconversion is to support OPA against the business pressure groups rapidly engulfing it and to demand a firmer price policy. The War Production Board has come completely under the domination of the big-business point of view on reconversion despite Presidential directives which are opposed to it. The appointment of General Levin Campbell as assistant to War Mobilization Director John W. Snyder adds still another big-business-minded official to the agency. Chester Bowles and the OPA are trying to resist the tide toward a disorderly and inflationary reconversion period in which small business and the consumer will suffer. The greatest danger lies in the fact that, while the Full Employment Bill is making headway in Congress and the country, the pattern of reconversion is in the direction of an economy with a chronic load of unemployment and under-utilization. The steel industry seems to be deliberately holding production to 60 per cent of capacity. The removal of price control from aluminum and magnesium will encourage the restoration of monopolistic practices in the light metals. Aid to little business in priorities and prices and programs for low-cost items in textiles are promised. But without a vigorous Presidential shake-up of reconversion policy and personnel, all such promises will remain on paper.

Correction: Contrary to a statement on page 71 of our July 28 issue, the California state legislature has memorialized the President and the Senate to approve a bill authorizing the naturalization of Filipinos.

THE GOOD DEMOCRATIC BELIEF THAT MILITARY leaders must be controlled by civilian authority in time of peace has already begun surging to the fore, only a few days after victory. Judging by some of the actions and reported plans of the military, this is highly salutary; Congress, the press, and the general citizenry are to be encouraged in their efforts to check the authoritarian tendencies of the high brass. We have already pointed out some of the flaws in the army's demobilization scheme, and suggested that its reasons for maintaining four million men under arms a year from now had not yet been made clear. Now comes the question of redeploying European combat veterans to the Pacific for occupation duty, which has brought cries of outrage from the men of the 86th and 95th Divisions, and from several smaller units en route across the country. It is probably true that the army has screened these units carefully, and that men with more than seventy-five points or thirty-seven years are not being sent toward Japan. It remains true that there is injustice in sending combat veterans to a new theater when non-combat troops remain at large in the United States. Of course, it is far easier for the army to send units which are reasonably intact than it is to form new units by a process of individual selection among the non-combat troops stationed here, which is the only way in which the situation could be corrected. In wartime, the expenditurre of time and energy and trouble in organizing such new units, training them, and transporting them, would be indefensible. With occupation as the only task ahead, the army should certainly stretch itself to see that no more combat veterans than are absolutely necessary are sent overseas again after the war has been won.

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EVEN LOUDER HOWLS OF RAGE ARE COMING from the navy, whose personnel have just had inflicted on them a point-discharge system which gives no break whatever to combat men—except those decorated for bravery, who get immediate discharges. Equal credit is given for months in service whether the sailor spent those months pounding a typewriter in Norfolk or fighting a PT boat through the South Pacific. "Scuttlebutt" has it that this is because the navy's record-tabulating machines are unable to distinguish between duty ashore and duty afloat: an explanation which may not be entirely fanciful. A man with three children gets no more points than a man with only one dependent; a man without dependents, over thirty, and in service since Pearl Harbor, still won't be discharged for months. It looks very much as if admirals, like generals, were anxious to keep big establishments under their command.

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NO MORE TERRIBLE STORY HAS COME OUT OF Europe than the survey published by the New York *Times* on Sunday, August 26, of conditions among the pitiful remnant of Central European Jewry. Recent revelations of what happened in the concentration and extermination camps provided a glimpse of persecution so cruel as to be pathological. These disclosures are transcended by the accounts of the treatment accorded the survivors. More painful than the mistreatment of the Jews by their enemies is the indifference, fumbling, ignorance, and, often, the prejudice displayed by

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their liberators. Official Allied policy is humane, enlightened, and sympathetic, at least on paper, but too little understanding is being shown in the lower echelons where directives must be carried out. Even on the policy level, it was not until August 23 that a United States directive was issued authorizing special welfare benefits in the Reich for those who suffered at the hands of the Nazis for racial, religious, or political reasons. "Enthusiastic but needy Nazis," said one *Times* report, "have often fared better than their ex-victims." German Jews will now be treated as displaced persons and will be moved wherever they want to go "provided they can obtain entry into the country." But where can they go? Only the opening of the doors of Palestine by Britain can provide a home for the No. 1 victims of Nazi fury.

The New Japanese Line

DURING the past week General MacArthur has set the stage for the final act in Japan's humiliation. By the time these lines are read, MacArthur himself, with a vast assemblage of Allied military might, will be established in the heart of Japan. Occupation forces are scheduled to land in the other Japanese islands after the signing of the final articles of capitulation. As the hour of occupation approaches, Japanese propaganda has taken on a curiously changed note. For the first time we find the Japanese press and radio frankly admitting defeat and advising the Japanese people to forget past animosities and concentrate on reconstruction. Pictures and detailed accounts of the devastation caused by the atomic bomb are being published to convince possible die-hards of the folly of further resistance. "For Japan's own good," the *Nippon Times* declares, "there must be a speedy realization that the old order is finished." Admitting the disastrous consequences of one-party rule, other papers urge the people to take a more active part in politics. In an obvious effort to impress the Allies with their newly-fabricated democracy, steps have been taken to set up six parties to replace the totalitarian Political Association of Greater Japan.

This almost servile note in Japan's reaction to defeat is in many respects more disquieting than the defiance of the first few days after surrender. The change came too suddenly and too uniformly to be regarded as even partially sincere. Japan remains a totalitarian state. Its leaders are essentially the same men who plotted aggression against China in 1937 and the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Like the German militarists in 1918, they have decided that the best tactic for the moment is to play for Allied sympathy in the hope that they may remain in office and ultimately be able to rebuild their shattered naval and military power. Perhaps the clearest evidence of the hypocrisy of Japan's new democratic pretenses may be found in the six parties that are supposed to provide free political expression for the Japanese people. The Social Mass party, which made such an impressive showing in the 1937 elections on an anti-militarist program, is not among them. Nor are any of the other proletarian parties which were active in the 20's and 30's. The six new parties are to be created, apparently, by dividing the Political Association into six roughly equal parts. If there has been any popular outcry against the militarists or the *Zaibatsu*, any resurgence of labor-union activity, or any other evidence of a genuine change of heart, it has not been reported by the Japanese radio.

Further evidence of Tokyo's duplicity is provided by its continued efforts to sow seeds of dissension among the Allies. With characteristic insolence the Japanese government twice appealed to General MacArthur to permit its forces in Manchuria to retain their arms to protect the local population against outrages committed by the Red Army. These appeals have quite properly been ignored.

Similar requests, however, that the Japanese in China be allowed to keep their arms to prevent the country from being overrun by "bandits" appear to have had some success. Chiang Kai-shek, with American backing, has ordered the Japanese to surrender only to accredited representatives of the Chungking government. And some sort of arrangement appears to have been entered into between Chungking and Chinese puppet troops for joint action against the resistance forces organized by Yenan. Whether this will lead to a Chinese civil war or a sharper cleavage between the two Chinas, remains to be seen.

Hope that Soviet influence will serve as a stabilizing factor and help avert war has been raised by publication of the recently concluded Stalin-Soong agreement. As had been forecast, Russia agreed to the restoration of Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, and took over only part of Japan's treaty rights in the Kwantung Leased Territory. Russia is to regain a half interest in the Chinese Eastern and South Manchuria railways, but, in contrast to the pre-war arrangement, these railways will be garrisoned by Chinese, not Russian, troops. Both countries agree that Korea shall be given ultimate independence; in the interim it will be occupied by the Big Four.

From China's standpoint, the Moscow agreement is a major diplomatic triumph. The only important concession made to Russia was recognition of the independence of Outer Mongolia—an established fact of twenty years' standing. But against this China gains not only full sovereignty in Manchuria but a guaranty against Russian interference in Chinese internal affairs. Many observers have interpreted this clause as signifying that Moscow has abandoned the Chinese Communists. This is indeed possible. If so, it will be a cruel blow to the millions of peasants who had escaped from China's feudal land system under Yenan's guidance. But there is also a strong possibility that as an unpublished part of the arrangement Chungking agreed to enter into a settlement with Yenan. Chiang Kai-shek's three urgent invitations to Mao Tse-tung and the latter's final agreement to go to Chungking suggest that outside pressure has been exerted. The indorsement of the pact by the Chinese Communists indicates that Yenan has not been wholly cast off. It is difficult to predict the outcome of the negotiations between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. The most favorable outcome, from China's standpoint, would be the creation of a coalition government under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. Such an arrangement was nearly reached a year ago. Another possibility is a regional understanding under which the Communists would receive a high degree of autonomy in North China under nominal Chungking authority. In any event, the

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threat of civil war has been substantially diminished, and the danger of international complications has been virtually eliminated by the new Sino-Soviet pact. The Japanese attempts to divide the Allies in peace appear to have failed as completely as similar Nazi efforts did in Europe.

Lend-Lease Blunder

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S action in bringing lend-lease operations to an abrupt halt even before Japan's formal surrender had been completed has met with fairly general approval in this country. Now that the fighting has stopped most people have assumed, without giving the matter much thought, that any further aid our Allies may require can be arranged by credits on commercial terms. In our haste to liquidate the war and return to "normalcy" we have not bothered to use our imaginations in considering what the decision means to other countries. Leo Crowley says that the Administration had no option in its action because Congress decreed that lend-lease was to end with "the end of the war." He has interpreted this to mean the end of actual fighting, but for many purposes—conscription, and the use of numerous war powers, for instance—the end of the war does not come until peace is actually declared by Congress.

Questioned in the House of Commons on this subject, Prime Minister Attlee said that, while a long continuation of lend-lease had not been anticipated, the British government had hoped that "cessation of this great mutual effort would not have been effected *without consultation and prior discussion.*" (Our italics.) Mr. Churchill, who followed him, expressed disbelief "that so great a nation . . . would proceed in such a rough and harsh manner as to hamper a faithful ally who held the fort while their own American armaments were being prepared." These statements put in strong but Parliamentary language what many ordinary Britons are saying in much blunter words.

Side by side with dispatches from New York telling how rapidly peace-time plenty is being restored in this country, British newspapers will be printing announcements of new deprivations. Let us keep this in mind and not be too ready to fling accusations of ingratitude when criticisms of the American action are reported.

To the British the end of lend-lease, without a period of warning during which new arrangements to solve their supply problems could be contrived, means anything but normalcy: it means, on the contrary, that controls must be retained and restrictions increased, that belts already tight must be pulled tighter. Even before the news was received butter and cheese rations had been cut and the stretching of six months of clothing coupons over eight months announced. Now it may be necessary to introduce bread rations for the first time since the war started. It is not a matter of shortage of total supplies throughout the world but of shortage of dollars with which to pay for imported food. Britain has been receiving abut $1 billion worth of lend-lease food annually and, in consequence, has been able to devote that much more of its resources to war manufacture instead of to producing goods for export. Now, in order to pay for essential imports it will have to draw on its exchange reserves, which are small in relation to its foreign liabilities, until it can reconvert its industry—far more fully mobilized for war than that in this country—and start the slow process of rebuilding export markets. Last year British exports were valued at about $1 billion—little more than one-third of their prewar figure; imports, excluding munitions, totalled over $5¼ billion. With the end of the war some decline in imports is possible, since huge quantities of raw materials were received for armament manufacture, but even so an immense gap will remain between Britain's minimum needs and its present capacity to buy. Washington officials suggest that this gap can be filled by American loans. But loans take time to negotiate and, in any case, the lending powers of the United States government are quite modest in relation to the international demand for credits. For Britain is not the only nation, nor the most needy, which will now seek credits to keep its people alive and revive its industry.

The lend-lease decision, coming as it did on the heels of the new British government's socialist program, has led to suggestions that Washington is seeking to put pressure on our ally with a view to keeping it in the straight capitalist path. We do not believe that the Administration has any such motive. On the other hand, it is quite probable that action was taken to force a showdown with Britain on post-war international commercial and financial policies, a showdown which, from the point of view of some of our leading Washington officials, would have been just as necessary if Churchill had been returned to office.

For months now the United States government has been seeking definite commitments from Britain which will insure an eventual return to competitive, multilateral world trade. We want to abolish barter deals, bulk purchases and sales by governments, exchange controls, import quotas, and other devices which impede American free enterprise. Britain is not indissolubly wedded to such methods but it feels unable to forswear their use until it can see its way to achieving balanced trade without them. For its fundamental need is to find means of paying for the imports without which it cannot survive.

One of the biggest obstacles to a solution of this problem is the enormous debt Britain has accumulated during the war. It has drawn heavily for supplies on India, Egypt, Portugal, Argentina, and a score of other countries, giving I. O. U.'s payable only in sterling. American traders want to sell goods to these countries but Britain cannot allow them to turn their sterling assets into dollars for, if it did, the exchange value of sterling would sink through the floor. A way out would be the funding of at least part of these debts through an American loan, and there have been repeated rumors that Britain has requested help from Washington for this purpose. Leo Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, however, has denied that any such application has been made. Actually there is reason to believe Washington would be delighted if Britain asked for a loan for then it would be in a position to make conditions. According to John H. Crider of the New York *Times*, one purpose of Assistant Secretary of State Clayton's present visit to London was to sound out British officials on this matter without making an offer which would give Britain an opportunity to suggest terms. Whitehall, however, has proved unwilling to commit itself. British

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experts see little point in transforming sterling debts which could eventually be paid off in the form of goods into a dollar debt. For the result might be to worsen Britain's plight unless the American market was thrown open to its products and assurances were received that the American economy would not be allowed to go into another tailspin.

With the end of lend-lease the British government will be forced to come to a definite decision: shall it seek further American aid on American terms, or, turning its back on free-trade ideals, seek to build up an independent trading system around the sterling bloc and so free itself from dependence on the dollar? Mr. Truman and his advisers are, apparently, counting on a favorable answer. We think they are gambling dangerously. While the Administration's action may have been taken with a view to persuading Britain and other countries to adopt commercial policies favorable to American trade, the immediate result at least may very well be more restrictions on trade and tighter exchange controls in Britain and the sterling area. We cannot complain if Britain cuts its coat according to its cloth and refuses, say, to use up its limited supply of dollars to pay for American films. We cannot insist that it *must* borrow money to pay for non-essential imports at a time when it is forced to ration necessities. It is at least equally probable that America's action will give victory to the British bilateralists and, in the end, leave America commercially isolated.

Balkan Maneuvers

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

A LITTLE honesty among the Allied powers would help clear the air over Europe, but clear air is not, I suppose, what our leaders are anxious to provide. Better fog and low visibility as a cover for motives that don't appear entirely compatible with One World ideals—or even United Nations agreements.

Yet nobody is really fooled. Nobody doubts that when Russia talks about "non-intervention" in Eastern Europe it intends merely to warn Britain and the United States not to throw their weight around in its special security sphere. Certainly it does not mean that it would tolerate a hostile government in Bulgaria or Rumania, no matter how such a government was chosen. And when Messrs. Bevin and Byrnes make solemn pronouncements in favor of "free elections" nobody supposes that they really hope for the early establishment in the Balkans of democratic methods which have not yet been applied in Hongkong or South Carolina. What they are trying to do is obvious, however veiled in semantic clouds. They are trying to build up the political elements which may prove independent of, if not hostile to, Russian influence. Neither side is able to hide its self-interested purposes; but I suppose it is inevitable that both should try. For honesty in this case would expose too baldly the thin patches in the fabric of inter-Allied relations.

And so we shall probably go on stumbling from one crisis into the next, with patched-up agreements creating brief interludes of uneasy armistice. The qualities that could overcome the difficulty altogether seem lacking: a capacity for honest cooperation and a willingness to sacrifice near-at-hand national claims to those more ample purposes of social reconstruction and international understanding which offer the only real basis of even national security. It is startling that three weeks after the fact of atomic power burst upon the world, the greatest Allied nations should still be pitting Balkan factions against each other and haggling over security zones. We need badly a breath of greatness, an impulse of generosity among our rulers.

Progressives everywhere felt particularly let down by Bevin's foreign-policy speech. On Spain, on Greece, on Eastern Europe, he echoed his Tory predecessors to the last stodgy inflection. No one expected the Labor government to abandon the cherished principle of continuity in Britain's foreign relations. What its sympathizers here and elsewhere confidently believed was that the new government would see the unchanging interests of Britain safeguarded rather than threatened by the rise of left-democratic forces in Europe and by firmer bonds with Russia. Mr. Bevin's stand-pat speech has shaken that belief.

Nor has Bulgaria's sudden capitulation altered the situation by so much as a hair. The provisional government yielded, not because it had been persuaded of its sins. Indeed Mr. Bevin's disapproval, read side by side with his defense of the Churchill policy next door in Greece, can only have created a mood of cynicism in Bulgaria. The government yielded because it was bullied by Britain and the United States: unless the election laws were changed, the newly elected regime would be excommunicated and economic help would be withheld. This threat of political-economic sanctions worked; the election has been indefinitely postponed. But I cannot believe the result will mean better relations between the west and the east or even any increase in Balkan democracy.

For behind the interplay of power politics, some real facts lie half hidden. The most important of these is the fact of revolution. All Europe—perhaps all the world—is undergoing a process of revolution. Here in America, social change has been cushioned and slowed down by our immense wealth, our well-fixed habits of democratic procedure, and above all by our exemption from the devastation war has brought to every European country. For these happy circumstances we should be thankful; they certainly give us no excuse for displays of self-righteousness.

The peoples of Europe are dealing with the fact of revolution in various ways and with varying degrees of success. In the western nations, the tradition of democracy may prove strong enough to survive hunger, physical destruction, and the impact of social change, particularly if they receive help and encouragement from the United States. Eastern Europe has no democratic tradition. Under forced draft, an obsolete system of society is being broken down and a new one constructed. In each country the resistance to Nazi domination generated a tough, fairly united fighting force largely under Communist direction and committed to immediate, urgent, primitive reforms—the ending of feudalism through the distribution of land to the peasants and the wiping out of prewar ruling groups, whether landlords, collaborationists, clerical interests, fascist left-overs, or combinations of all of them.

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The process is not one which observes the niceties of democratic behavior. Reports indicate that the abuses in Bulgaria have been extreme. Repression of political opposition is not a pleasant business, and one-party rule, even when the party is a "front" made up of a variety of parties, is not by any definition democratic.

It is possible that the rigors of revolution might be moderated by the friendly intervention of all three major powers acting together under the Potsdam agreement. But to be useful such intervention would have to be both disinterested and united. It would have to respect the underlying realities of social and political change. It would have to be based on a general policy applicable elsewhere—in Greece and Italy as well as in Bulgaria and Rumania. The intervention of Britain and the United States met none of these tests and, indeed, it could not meet them as long as the powers are sparring for position in eastern Europe. Under existing circumstances, however successful it may appear on the surface, our ultimatum to Bulgaria can only have intensified differences and created new suspicions. Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin have stopped the Bulgarian elections; they are not going to establish Jeffersonian democracy in Bulgaria, no matter how drastically the election laws may be changed or how many observers they station at the polls.

Capitalism and Full Employment

BY I. F. STONE

THE New York *Times* recently complained—one could almost hear the tremor in the editorial voice—that the Full Employment Bill "rests essentially on the assumption that private enterprise, left to its own devices, cannot provide sufficient employment." I don't know what is meant by "sufficient" employment. I suspect that employment sufficient enough to satisfy conservative editors might not be sufficient enough to satisfy the rest of us. But if the New York *Times* means full employment, its reproach is not unjustified. Despite the pious genuflections to free enterprise on almost every page of the bill, its basic assumption is, indeed, that free enterprise, left to its own devices, is unlikely to achieve, much less to maintain, full employment. If the backers of the bill felt otherwise, they would never have bothered to introduce it. If free enterprise alone can provide full employment, there is no need for action by government.

What the editors of the New York *Times* seem to overlook, however, is that this basic assumption is shared by the opponents of the bill. Senator Taft, the leader of the opposition, has said in Congress and over the air that the full-employment idea itself is communistic and that it originated in Section 118—the "right-to-work" section—of the Soviet Constitution. I was myself on a radio program with the Senator last winter in which he read from that Soviet document, as though this provided a conclusive and crushing argument, "The right to work is insured by the socialist organization of the national economy. . . ." Unlike the New York *Times*, Taft indulged in no question-begging phrases about "sufficient employment." His position was that free enterprise and full employment are incompatible. He implied that full employment is possible only under socialism. This point of view has been expressed in many other conservative quarters, notably on the financial and editorial pages of the New York *Herald Tribune*.

There has thus been a curious reversal of roles in the debate on the Full Employment Bill. Many conservatives like Senator Taft, in opposing the bill, are saying that full employment can be achieved only under socialism. Many liberals and leftists, in backing the bill, are saying that maybe full employment *can* be achieved under capitalism. We on the left agree with Senator Taft and the Soviet Constitution that the socialist organization of the national economy is the one certain way to guarantee full employment. But we are less defeatist than Senator Taft. We are not yet ready to state dogmatically that it is impossible to have both full employment and private capital. In a very real, though paradoxical sense, we have more faith than Taft in the possibilities of private enterprise in America.

The basic assumption shared by both sides is true. It is true in this sense: "Free enterprise" as it existed in this country before the war was incompatible with full employment. "Free enterprise," roughly speaking, was a combination of monopolistically controlled basic-material industries and competitive consumer-goods industries. In the former, prices and output were determined not by the market but, as under socialism, by administrative decision. The criterion of decision in this private socialism, as Roosevelt once called it, was the maintenance of a profitable scarcity. The monopolistic basic-materials industries hampered and limited enterprise in the competitive consumer-goods field. There too, though less obviously, the natural tendency was to keep supply a little behind demand. A margin of poverty and joblessness is necessary to the profitable functioning of an unplanned, irresponsible, and anarchistic economic system like capitalism. Full employment is incompatible with such a system of production. The individual employer under existing circumstances can best hold down labor costs if there is a margin of unemployment, best maintain profits if there is a margin of unsatisfied demand.

I stress "existing circumstances." The real question at issue between the opponents and the supporters of full-employment legislation is whether it is *possible* under different circumstances to maintain both full employment and private capitalism. They say "No." We say "Yes." We have just come through a war period, and in that period we had full employment, and a considerable area of free enterprise, within the framework of private and corporate ownership. And full employment of facilities so lowered unit costs as to make opera-

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tion enormously profitable despite war-time taxes and war-time wages. Three things made full employment possible during the war: (1) the government provided a market for all industry could produce, (2) it set up agencies to plan, supervise, and direct the productive process, and (3) a sense of common danger and patriotic purpose made extraordinary controls sufficiently enforceable to be effective. If we can carry these three essentials over into peacetime, we can have full employment under private capitalism in peace as well as war. I am not sure that the possessing classes have sufficient foresight to meet the future halfway with such a program. But it could be done and it's worth trying. For ultimately the only alternative is a very grave and costly one.

In the enactment and successful utilization of the Full Employment Bill much will depend on the intelligence of the smaller and the independent business man. He will be wise to do less worrying about sacred-cow words like "free enterprise" and more thinking about the actual situation in which he finds himself. In a fully employed economy he can survive as a business man. In a return to "free enterprise," as it was practiced before the war, he becomes again one of the little fish on which the big fish of the business world feed. Part of the profitability of the system lay in expansion but part lay in economic cannibalism, and it was the little fellow who ended up in the pot. To the biggest financial operators, governmental planning for full employment means a loss in freedom to control and speculate. But for the average business man planned full employment is as vital as for the worker and the farmer; it is the only context in which he, too, can achieve security.

California Looks to 1946

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, August 23

ON AUGUST 6 an era in California politics came to an end: "the Hiram Johnson era." A lone wolf in California politics, Johnson was a master of political strategy and tactics. After he was elected Governor in 1910 he proceeded to "drive the Southern Pacific out of politics"—for about a decade. California voters could never forget their indebtedness to him for this masterly achievement, and for many other progressive accomplishments. They liked his fiery denunciations of General Harrison Gray Otis, owner-publisher of the Los Angeles *Times*; they admired the courageous way in which he took over the San Francisco graft prosecutions after Special Prosecutor Francis J. Heney had been shot. On these solid foundations Johnson built a strong personal machine. But his liberalism, like that of certain Southern politicians of the same period, was curiously mixed with illiberal ingredients. He was a chauvinist, an isolationist, and a race-baiter. Though he had a strong claim upon the loyalty of California voters, he would have been overwhelmingly defeated in 1946. For the great majority of Californians, of both political parties, were indignant over that final act of an embittered, morose, cynical old man—his "no" vote on the United Nations Charter.

True to form, Governor Earl Warren has used the vacancy created by Johnson's death to pay an old political debt by appointing Major William Knowland to the Senate. Major Knowland is the son of Joseph Knowland, publisher of the Oakland *Tribune,* a pillar of reaction in California these many years. The elder Knowland was Warren's original sponsor in politics and has consistently advanced the career of his protégé. The appointment, which as a matter of right and tradition should have gone to a Southern Californian, is not popular. California progressives and chronic Johnsonites feel keenly that the Governor ought to have appointed a man who represented the old Johnson tradition.

Major Knowland is a young man, 37 years of age, former Republican National Committeeman, assistant publisher of the *Tribune,* who has served one term in the Assembly and one term as State Senator from Alameda County. He is not an isolationist, but surely not a progressive on domestic issues. From present indications he is likely to be opposed for the Republican nomination in 1946 by Lieutenant Governor Frederick Houser—a smug reactionary if ever one existed—and by Judge Thomas White of the District Court of Appeals in Los Angeles, a liberal Catholic with an excellent record on racial, labor, and international issues. There is also considerable sentiment, among Willkie Republicans, for Bartley Crum of San Francisco. If the reactionary vote were divided between Knowland and Houser, either White or Crum would stand a good chance of winning the Republican nomination.

Until last week, the fight for the Democratic nomination promised to be a free-for-all in the best California tradition. Mentioned as likely candidates were: Orson Welles, Congressman George Outland, Colonel Evans Carlson (of "Carlson's Raiders"), Colonel James Roosevelt (who is establishing political residence in California), Congressman Ellis Patterson (perennially willing to run for any office higher than the one he currently occupies), Congressman Cecil King, J. Ray Files, a prominent Los Angeles lawyer, former Congressman Will Rogers, Jr., and Attorney General Robert W. Kenny, the most powerful figure in Democratic Party politics in California today. When Kenny quickly eliminated himself, by announcing that he would run for reelection as Attorney General, the liberal forces inclined toward Colonel Carlson and George E. Outland, generally regarded as the state's ablest Representative in Congress. But within the last few days the situation has been considerably changed by the report that Manchester Boddy, publisher of the *Daily News* and the *Evening News* in Los Angeles, would be a candidate.

In 1926 the *Illustrated Daily News,* one of the tabloids founded by Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., was tottering to a premature grave in Los Angeles. At this juncture Boddy took

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over control of the paper, largely with the aid, so it has long been rumored, of the Southern California Edison Company, or, if not of the company itself, then of some of its officers and influential stockholders. To most observers Boddy seemed an unlikely choice for the difficult task of rehabilitating the *News*. A graduate of the University of Montana, a veteran with a distinguished record in the first World War, and a crack book-salesman with an inclination toward metaphysical speculation, he hardly seemed the right man for the job. He lacked practical newspaper experience, he was not widely known in Los Angeles at the time, and he was himself without means. But, by consummate bluffing and financial finesse, he managed to keep the *News* alive from 1926 to 1932.

In the depth of the depression the *News* struck a new low: its circulation dropped to 75,000 and its principal advertisers began to desert it. Then, as the result of a casual suggestion, Boddy began to feature, as front-page news, a series of articles on technocracy. Throughout December 1932 large crowds fought for the early editions, with single copies frequently selling for a dollar and two dollars. Boddy had really hit his stride as a publisher, and since then the *News* has been a profitable and successful enterprise.

Extremely charming and engaging, Boddy is essentially a salesman of ideas. Following his skilful handling of the technocracy ballyhoo, he began to plug for handicraft industries; switched to decentralization of industry; and then gave David Cushman Coyle's "The Irrepressible Conflict: Business vs. Finance" a typical Boddy treatment. Still later he promoted the idea that capitalism should be confined to the production of luxury goods, only to abandon this dispensation, after a few months, for a short flirtation with social credit. From time to time, however, he has returned to his first love, technocracy. As a columnist in his own newspapers Boddy is unpredictable, erratic, and inclined to be tangential in his views. During the EPIC campaign in 1934 he delayed taking a position until the week of the election; and then, with all Southern California eagerly anticipating his indorsement of Sinclair, he devoted his column to a series of essays on Plutarch's "Lives"!

In many respects Boddy resembles Senator Sheridan Downey. Both gentlemen regard themselves as extraordinarily subtle logicians and mathematical wizards; both are spinners of particularly fancy socio-economic fairy tales. The possibility that California may be represented in the Senate, during the critical post-war period, by two such incorrigible romanticists (albeit men of good will) is disconcerting. Should he decide to run, however, Boddy will be "the man to beat." He stands well with the American Legion and the A. F. of L.; he has considerable support in business circles; he is widely known throughout the state; and he has the inside track with officials of the Democratic Party.

Since most of the Los Angeles County Congressmen mentioned for the Senate are indebted to Boddy for support in previous elections, they will probably withdraw should he enter the race. This does not, however, apply to George E. Outland, whose district embraces the central coastal portion of the state. In California politics there is some advantage in coming from this neutral zone, thereby avoiding the perennial north-south rivalry. Many of Outland's most enthusiastic admirers, however, want him to run for Governor, an office for which he is especially well qualified by temperament, training, and experience. He has taught sociology and government at Yale and at Santa Barbara State College, and is the author of "Boy Transiency in America," a standard work on the subject. Running for Congress in 1942, he had the courage to oppose confiscation of the land and machinery of Japanese farmers who were moved inland after Pearl Harbor.

Although the suggestion may seem far-fetched, Orson Welles is one of the dark-horse candidates to watch in this fight. During the 1944 election he demonstrated remarkable political drawing power and was one of the most effective campaigners for President Roosevelt's reelection. The vision of Orson Welles replying to Senator Bilbo is, indeed, fascinating to contemplate. Still another dark-horse candidate, either for Governor or Senator, is Colonel Evans Carlson. The "talk about Carlson" dates from a memorable speech which he delivered at the Writers' Congress sponsored by the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the University of California on October 1, 1943. On this occasion Colonel Carlson made a profound impression by his obvious sincerity, simplicity of manner, and unmistakable conviction. He is, of course, known to servicemen throughout the world as the organizer of the famous Second Marine Raider Battalion which performed so brilliantly at Makin Island and Guadalcanal. All America knows about the spirit of "Gung Ho"—"work in harmony, cooperate, practice tolerance"—which may well be a political slogan in California in 1946.

Colonel Carlson commanded native troops in Nicaragua in 1930-33, and later marched with the Chinese Eighth Route Army. He is the author of two interesting books: "Twin Stars of China" and "The Chinese Army." An ardent student of international affairs, he is also profoundly interested in the great social, economic, and political issues of our time. Listening to him talk, seeing him on the platform, chatting with him in private conversation, one can readily understand the enthusiasm he inspired in the men he commanded; one can also understand the enthusiasm of the Hollywood liberals who see in him a new Lincoln. Colonel Carlson has not said that he will run for office, but it is known that he intends to withdraw from active service, as soon as he fully recovers from injuries received in the Pacific, and devote the rest of his life to public affairs. Since the servicemen's vote will be very important in 1946, particularly in California, he would be a strong candidate for Governor or for the Senate.

In 1946 Governor Warren will be a candidate for reelection. He will not be able to repeat his 1942 campaign, when he stood as an anti-Olson candidate without a positive program of his own. Either Outland or Carlson could be relied upon to stress major issues in such a manner that the cagey Warren would be forced to take a position. Warren has no important achievements to present to the voters in 1946. He is extremely vulnerable on racial issues and is under fire for his conspicuous failure to push through an adequate post-war program and for his quiet opposition to the great Central Valley hydro-electric project.

The ideal candidate to oppose Warren would, of course, be Robert W. Kenny. But Kenny knows Sacramento. Given the present obsolete and undemocratic system of legislative representation in California, any person elected Governor

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is likely to be stymied if he has a progressive program.

Fortunately, the Republican Party in California is badly demoralized at the moment. For the last fifteen years two-thirds of the members of the legislature have been elected at the primaries by receiving both party nominations. During the last session party discipline in the Republican ranks broke down completely, with the Republican Speaker of the House telling off Governor Warren on several occasions. In an effort to restore order, Herbert Brownell, G. O. P. national chairman, came to pray with the local functionaries for unity. His visit was not a success. Governor Warren, who has been at outs with the Dewey element since the 1944 election, refused to go along with the movement to tighten the organization. Thus in 1946 the Republicans will not be in a position to make a strong partisan campaign, while, organizationally, the Democratic Party in California is stronger today than in 1942.

Never a dull state politically, California promises to excel past performances in 1946. Out-of-state observers should be reminded of the fact that primary elections will be held in June, 1946, the legislature having advanced the date of the primary by two months.

Everybody's Atom

BY J. D. BERNAL

[*Dr. Bernal, one of Britain's leading younger scientists, is professor of physics at Birkbeck College, University of London, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He is the author of "The Social Function of Science."*]

> This revelation of the secrets of Nature, long mercifully withheld from man, should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every human being capable of comprehension. We must indeed pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce to peace among the nations and that instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity.

MR. CHURCHILL'S words, written in the foreknowledge of the effects of the atomic bomb, are echoed in many millions of minds today. People have been quick to see how the actuality of the atomic bomb has implicitly changed the whole existence of man in this universe. The immediate effects, however horrible, have been decisive in ending the war; but the possibilities of further destructive use are in every man's mind and far less certain are the hopes that it may also bring equally untold benefit. These hopes are weak despite official reassurance because, though the people may have little experience of the behavior of atoms, they have considerable experience of the behavior of men, corporately and individually. They remember that in the past science has been fully developed only in human destruction and this gives a poor augury for the beneficent use of these more powerful forces.

President Truman in his broadcast said:

> We must constitute ourselves trustees of this new force, to prevent its misuse and to turn it into the channels of service to mankind. It is an awful responsibility that has come to us.

The exercise of this trusteeship is, however, greater than can be borne by any government or group of governments. It is one that must be shared with the whole of the human race. Good will is not enough. It needs to be backed by an intelligent appreciation of the possibilities that the mastery of atomic energy gives us, and of the ways in which these possibilities can be realized without disrupting our coal- and oil-based civilization.

The perfecting of the atomic bomb is only the first impressive practical utilization of knowledge that appeared almost as startlingly as the bomb itself in the scientific world of fifty years ago. The discoveries of X-rays by Röntgen in 1895, followed by that of radio-activity by Becquerel, were totally unexpected; they broke up the complacent nineteenth-century, determinist, physical picture and started a major revolution in scientific thought. There followed the Rutherford theory of the atom with its heavy nucleus and attendant electron, which showed us a picture of matter very different from our old concrete imaginings; while the quantum theory of Planck and Bohr revealed modes of behavior of that matter even farther removed from common-sense experience. These ideas led to an almost unbroken sequence of discoveries—neutron, positron, meson—culminating just before the war with the splitting of the isotope of uranium which is the basis for the atomic bomb. The bomb itself is, therefore, the first large-scale, practical result of fifty years of intense, fundamental scientific activity.

What the effect of the use of atomic energy is likely to be on society, we can now only dimly see. Those who know most about it are prohibited by military secrecy from making any statement. I can write about it only because it is work in which I have at no time been involved. What is important now, however, is not an accurate presentation of the immediate, technical possibilities of the utilization of processes in atomic nuclei but rather an appreciation of the social effects which such utilization is bound to produce. The first obvious and incontestable fact is that we have here a concentration of energy of the order of a million times greater than any we have had before. That does not mean, of course, that we have as yet actually increased the available energy in this planet by any perceptible amount. The rarity of the original elements, the practical difficulties of extraction of the active isotopes, and the unavoidable inefficiency of the disintegration process, may make the effective cost per energy unit for many years far greater than that of the more prosaic sources, coal and oil. We may feel reasonably sure, however, that

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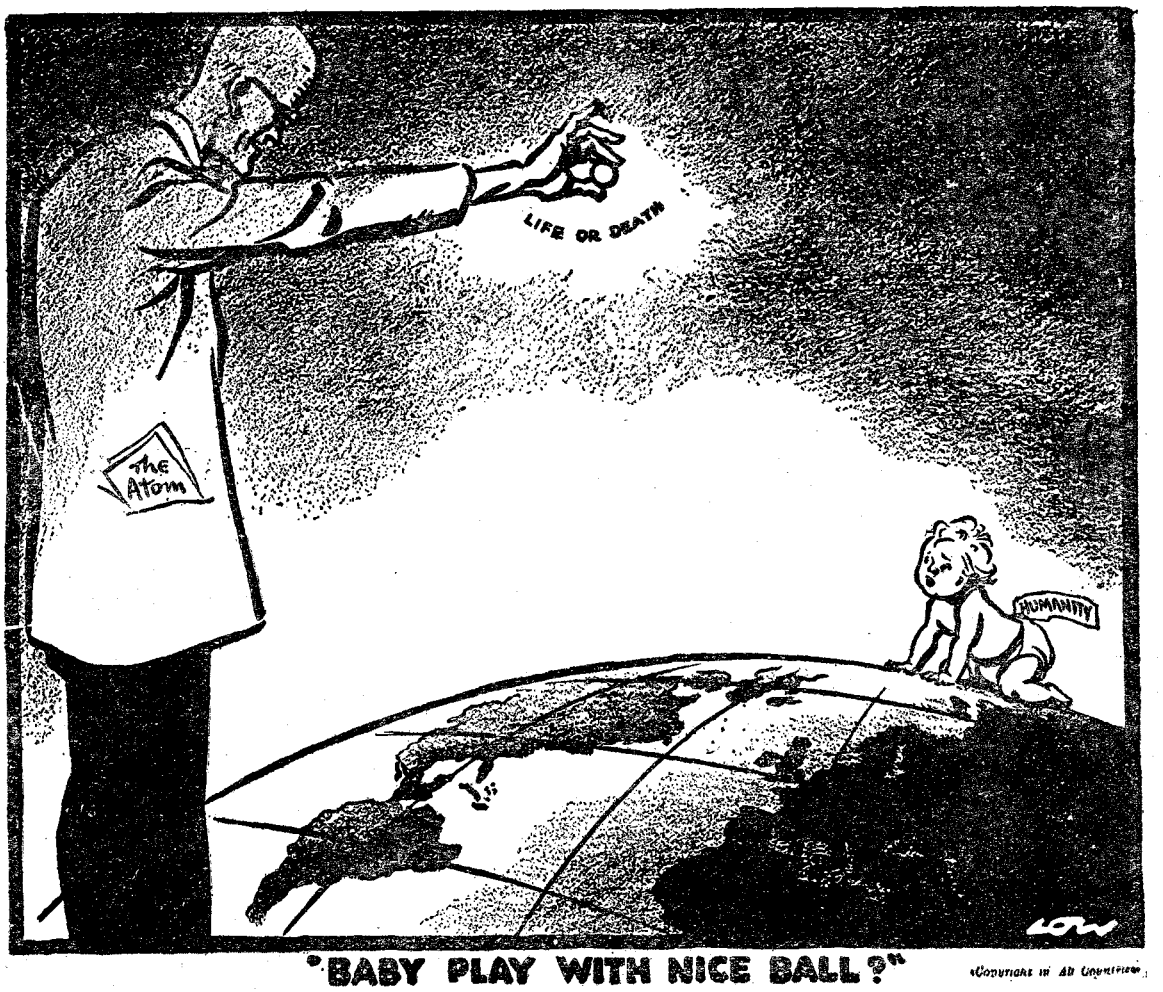
the application of scientific analysis and practical ingenuity will overcome these difficulties in the course of a few years —if the effort which produced the atomic bomb is maintained at the same intensity.

Long before this time, however, there are obvious fields of utilization for costly but concentrated sources of energy. Such sources would obviously be at a premium in all remote parts of the world where the cost of transporting coal or oil is great and it is there that the use of atomic power will first be economic. It does not follow, however, that the best application of atomic energy is its tranformation into mechanical power. Before this is achieved, we may be utilizing atomic energy for the production of extremely high temperatures and pressures: for a new metallurgy and ceramics, and in large-scale engineering as a super blasting agent. Already, in the availability of an enormous variety of radio-active elements in hitherto unthinkable quantities, we have means for the rapid increase of our chemical, biological, and medical knowledge.

Sooner or later, however, it will be possible to use atomic power economically to provide directly or indirectly for immediate human wants. In the crudest way, such energy could be used to pump water and make fertilizer, extending and intensifying agricultural exploitation. At the same time, by increasing the facility of transport, it can make agricultural products more rapidly available. This means, in effect, that the basic limitation of food supply, already being felt acutely in the world, can be removed.

The discovery of a new source of wealth does not imply its rapid, large-scale use. Columbus's landfall did not mean any immediate increase in the resources of medieval Europe, but it did open a new world, and, in time, that new world with its ever widening frontiers brought an overwhelming increase in human population and standards of living. The development of the atomic bomb is a signal that another new frontier has opened, a frontier more illimitable than the physical frontier of mountain and prairie because it is not tied down to the geographical limitations of this globe but only to the capacities of human intelligence and human ability to cooperate.

Just as, when the new world was opened, the more adventurous could not be content with the constraints and resignations of the old, so, from now on, men will have a reasonable impatience at being tied down by the physical limitations of older methods of production and will demand the most rapid and the most effective development and exploitation of the new powers that science has put into our hands. It is here that lies the way out of the very real horror and apprehension that the atomic bomb has created. Attempts to control this force by secrecy and limitation are foredoomed to failure. The real way to insure freedom from fear and suspicion is not negative restraints but rapid expansion. Many of the troubles of our time, particularly in advanced countries like the United States, have been attributed to the closing of the last frontier. With the unlimited possibilities of atomic energy, mutual suspicion and struggles for *lebens-*



"BABY PLAY WITH NICE BALL?"

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naum can give way to a new, universal constructive effort full of excitement, uncertainty, hope, and promise.

The analogy of the opening of the New World, however, must not be pushed too far. What America gave us was something that people were already acquainted with—lands, forests, mines—only more of them than they had ever dreamed of; our new resources are not in the physical world but come from the systematic and cumulative tradition of science, and their benefits can be realized only by ordered and controlled progress, not by a further extension of individual and uncoordinated enterprise.

Perhaps as impressive as the atomic bomb itself is the feat of scientific organization and industrial production that made it possible in three years to go from what was a laboratory experiment involving hardly more than home-made apparatus and sub-microscopic quantities of substance, to a practical release of energy on a scale thousand of times greater than ever before achieved. Social discoveries are intrinsically more important than physical ones. A new way of doing things has an indefinite future not tied to any particular field of knowledge. The overriding need to avoid a fate similar to that we have inflicted on our enemy has shown what many scientists have long believed: that the potentials of modern science were not being realized for the simple reason that insufficient effort was being put into science. From now on this fact is as inescapable as the splitting of the atom itself.

People had grown so accustomed to the multiplicity of ways in which science was affecting modern life that the majority, including many scientists, were content with the relatively small-scale and haphazard manner in which scientific research was conducted and applied. That method, or lack of method, is now dead. The object lesson of the two-billion-dollar expenditure on the atomic bomb, with its integration of scientific, industrial, and military organizations, shows what can be achieved if such projects are tackled in a big way. There are hundreds of projects in science, already known to be realizable theoretically, much less spectacular but of importance comparable to that of the atomic bomb. We have had one example of them already in this war; the development of penicillin, which has saved many times more lives than the atomic bomb has destroyed, or, we hope, will ever destroy. Here again the normal development of fifty years was condensed into two by turning on an adequate effort. The problem of protein structure, with its relation to agriculture, food, and disease; the problem of the control of genetics, with the production of new and useful species; and the great physiological, psychological problem of the relation of body and mind—all these should be tackled by international team-work.

As long as people were content with the pre-uranic scientific progress, that is, as long as people were content with what they knew, the few imaginative scientists who saw the possibilities of the serious and adequate utilization of science could get no hearing. Now that everybody has seen what the pace can be, they are not going to be content any longer with leaving the realization of scientific benefits to their grandchildren or great-grandchildren when they could enjoy them in their own lives. The new era of the atom will also be the era in which the pursuit and application of science will become a major instead of an exceptional human occupation. Put concretely, before the war, between one-tenth and one-third of 1 per cent of the national income of modern industrial states was devoted to scientific research. The war has raised this figure to more than 1 per cent, but a rational appreciation of the newly revealed possibilities of science cannot be content with such a limit. The figure must rise year by year until it reaches stability at some value that we cannot now assess, but may within our own lifetime reach as much as 20 per cent. This implies the recasting of the educational system so as to produce many times the number of scientific workers and at the same time give every citizen enough scientific knowledge to appreciate the problems of the new age.

A mere increase of scientific activity, however, is not enough; it must be coordinated and directed to really worthy tasks. The objectives of science—"what needs to be done"—are set by the conditions of society. Sometimes perverse conditions, such as war, require superior methods of destruction, but normally the aim of science should be to enable individual men to realize their inherent possibilities, whether expressed in art, in science, or in simple human relations. The basic requirements of food, shelter, and work must first be met for the present population of the world and for its future increase. How such general directives can be translated into scientific research is a task for the scientists themselves. It needs to be organized—and organized on a world-wide basis. Science cannot be done in holes and corners. Only a combination of the scientists of all the countries of the world, freely interchanging their ideas and persons, can provide sufficient mutual stimulation to insure a full growth of science. The development of the atom bomb itself required the massed leadership in physics of Britain and America, with contributions from Denmark and from anti-Nazi Germans. German and Japanese science, after its perversion by fascism, was not up to the task. Success was achieved by working to a precise and narrow end, but for the general advancement and benefit of mankind the ends are multiple and indefinite.

It often takes much greater ingenuity to find out what problems have to be solved than actually to solve them once they have been stated. Even now we can see only a very small fraction of the possible applications of atomic energy. These applications must not be attacked in a haphazard way. Just as in war we had our priorities, so we must have them in peace. The jobs that atomic energy can do immediately are probably gigantic enterprises in remote places. Its use, therefore, must be concentrated where such action is likely to give the greatest human return, irrespective of national or individual interests. For example, even now the explosive force of the atom can be used to dig canals, to break open mountain chains, to melt ice barriers, and generally to tidy up the awkward parts of the world.

The control of atomic energy, however, which is already promised by President Truman, should be from the start a fully international control, under the guidance in the first place of the United Nations. The maintaining of secrecy on the principles and processes involved and the limitation of their application to the use of particular nations will be doubly disastrous, partly in slowing down the rate of useful progress, but, far more seriously, in withholding the utilization of atomic energy on account of mutual suspicion. It was possible to develop the atom bomb in secrecy but under a

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cloak so wide that it covered hundreds of the most brilliant physicists, chemists, and engineers of America and Europe. Far more scientists would have to be brought in for the wider peace-time uses. New and valuable ideas from outside cannot appear effectively under conditions of secrecy. Science needs the widest range of free discussion to develop fruitfully. Sir Henry Dale, president of the Royal Society, has made an impassioned plea for open dealing:

> I believe that the abandonment of any national claim to secrecy about scientific discoveries must be a prerequisite for any kind of international control, such as will obviously be indispensable if we are to use atomic energy to its full value and avoid the final disaster which its misuse might bring.

It is clear that publication and control are indissolubly linked. If we have control without publication, we shall have permanent suspicion and resultant stifling of scientific initiative through secrecy. Such a policy will actually tie up the active sources of energy, which will be kept for war purposes instead of used as fast as they are made. Leading scientists in the world have already recognized this. Sir James Chadwick has said:

> The fundamental principles involved in the atom bomb are so widely known that it is only a matter of time before every country, even without learning the British and United States secrets, develops a similar bomb. I do not think there is any safety in every country having it, but some effort should be made to control its use.

The responsibility is heavy. It must be widely borne. The democratic countries have finished their first task of liberating all countries from domination by reactionary forces. The people of these countries and of the rest of the world must see to it that they do not again pass under a domination of fear created by the very weapons that gave them mastery. They will need all their intelligence and political wisdom from now on to conquer themselves.

Life in a Vacuum

BY PHILIP JORDAN

Germany, British Zone, August 13

TO LIVE in Germany today is to live in "Cloud-Cuckoo Land." It is remote, by a paradox, infinitely stable, and is separated from the normal activities of men and the currents of history by immense gulfs, wide, deep, and spiritually impassable. In the last week mankind has crossed a frontier at whose barriers he has been knocking since the Renaissance first awoke him from a sleep that had lasted several centuries: he has discovered how to harness the powers of atomic fission for his own purposes. On a plane infinitely lower, the Japanese Government has all but surrendered, and for the first time in—how many years is it?—thirty or more, the guns are about to be silenced all over the globe.

You would hardly guess at those facts if you were here in Germany. They have made no more impact on German life than the frail clouds which are moving slowly across the summer sky today. On those who garrison this section of the country the impact is hardly stronger. It is strangely ironic that one of the reasons for the indifference of the latter is due to our present inability to harness illimitable power for other than destructive purposes: we are still as much at the mercy of the weather as we were before the airplane was invented. Here we have had no newspapers to read since the day before the Soviet Union declared war on Japan; and because we have learned to rely on the airplane and have now been betrayed by it, we are as much cut off from our only satisfying sources of information—the newspapers from home—as were our forefathers, in similar appalling weather, in the days before the railroad was invented.

Radio? Yes, somewhere there is a radio, but until today a prolonged series of electric storms has interfered with reception; and when we do manage to turn it on we hear little more than the ineffable voice of Luxembourg, telling the Germans that they are guilty, in much the same voice that a superior, genteel nursemaid uses when reproving some recalcitrant child for stealing jam from the larder.

Not that the Germans are inclined to stick their fingers into the forbidden jam at the moment, but their disinclination to listen to nurse is as convinced and certain as that of the child forced to receive a rebuke which he believes to be neither just nor relevant. It is natural to like jam; and if you are not old enough to have a moral sense, you don't listen to pious homilies on the sin of theft.

But the Germans have an additional reason for disregarding this stern, but, alas, amateur, voice: they are concerned now with satisfying a desire older even than that for glory, older than that for power or self-indulgence, a little older than that to reproduce your species: they are concerned with the problem of their collective stomach. Nothing else matters. They dress up, they go to concerts, they flirt, they read the poverty-stricken little news-sheets we allow them, but they talk of food, endlessly, distressingly. Atomic bombs, the end of "honorary Aryanism," peace on earth to men of good will and all that, these are phantoms for the delight of children, phrases with which the practical mind has no concern at the moment. You can have all the atomic bombs you like, they seem to say, provided that little Hansel and little Gretel can be guaranteed a cup of milk every morning and a slice of good bread several times a day.

Well, of course, little Hansel and Gretel can be guaranteed nothing of the sort. Montgomery, a fine fighting soldier but one who must still prove himself as an administrator, makes their flesh creep with hints of famine this winter, now so close; and he exhorts them to help themselves. They hear that their harvest is good, but they know better. They

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have lived and farmed here for more years than we have been here days; and for the last five years they have been flogging their unfertilized land to produce more and ever more for the now shattered Wehrmacht. The land is old and tired.

Slowly, with an admirable efficiency, the Allied forces are transporting what remains of the shattered Wehrmacht home so that they may bring in this visually lovely harvest; but the rains which now flatten and rot its weak ears also have their story to tell; and every adult German can see on the horizon, like a thundercloud coming up against the wind, the horrid form of hunger.

That is what matters here. The flounderings of Military Government, the incompetence of UNRRA's desperately willing staff—war demands alone seem to have drained civilization's limited fund of administrative ability—the petulance of those displaced persons who remain here (and who can blame them?), the race against time to produce enough men to produce enough fuel—we've long given up hoping to produce enough food—all these are small rashes on the emaciated and inflamed body of the German state. Had those higher levels which give forth policy adequately realized what every sensible man and woman realized (namely, that Germany must be fed and administered when it was defeated) our task today would no doubt have been easier. It would have been mapped and planned. But it wasn't mapped and planned, because the Churchills of this world know no better than to suppose that you have achieved victory when you sign an armistice. One can only thank God on bended knees that he was defeated at the British election or all the old mistakes of 1918, whose first vague shadows lie across this land, might have taken substance and menaced us with a new, resurgent, bitter, militaristic Germany.

We can face it now: those who planned or thought to plan for beaten Germany fell between two stools as high as cliffs. Torn between their desire to destroy German militarism and their wish to preserve some sort of Germany that might still stand between them and communism, they planned a vacuum; so that Germany today, so far as the zones of the Western Allies are concerned, is nothing but a land of people who are afraid of being hungry. They have nothing to live for beyond food.

Pious "handouts" expressing vague wishes that intellectual life may be restored are distributed to Allied correspondents by the only efficient organization in the country—a so-called public-relations outfit which exists not to disseminate information about this country but to prevent newspaper men from finding out what is going on. Never, in nearly six years of journalism with the armies, have I felt so cut off from the stream of events, so thwarted and so incapable of telling you what is happening. This is the new censorship, invisible, professing helpfulness but standing between the newspapers of the world and the truth like a vast unscalable wall of China. Here and there, of course, you can climb over it, but the effort is hardly worth making, and you get tired of finding admirably disinterested, half-trained men and women trying to do a job with no directive to guide them and not enough experience to use their common sense and take a rapping over the knuckles if they offend the powers.

Much of the trouble, of course, is caused by the violent trade-unionism of the old, the regular, army. Men who proved themselves incapable of understanding the strains and necessities of modern war, and were consequently relegated to their proper places during the years of hostility, are now putting on their red tabs and their brass hats and climbing back to the comfort of a good mess and a job infinitely better paid, for all the stinginess of the British Treasury, than any they might get in civil life. First-class brains are not attracted to the governance of defeated Germany, for there is no room for them at the top—with a few shining exceptions—and no responsibility for them lower down. So Germany will be governed for the most part by men of generally lower caliber than those they have to govern—unless, of course, there should be a change in policy, which, so far as the British zone is concerned, is now possible.

Clemenceau used to say that war is far too serious a matter to be left to soldiers: if war is, how much more so is peace!

In the Wind

EUGENE R. FLITCRAFT of Chicago is having troubles with his "Gentile Business Directory," a 152-page "handy shopping guide for Gentiles who prefer to do business with Gentiles" ($12). The Chicago Better Business Bureau reports that many of the listings are unauthorized and inaccurate, and a number of firms and individuals are considering legal action on the ground that listing in such a publication injures their reputations.

LOCAL 24, United Office and Professional Workers of America, C. I. O., claims a majority of the employees in Henry Ford's Chicago office, and has filed a petition for a National Labor Relations Board election.

TIMING: In its issue of August 13 *Time* said, "Last week Russia was not ready—if she ever would be—to go to war with Japan" (page 27, column 2). Russia went to war with Japan, as readers of *The Nation* are aware, on August 8.

THE CURRENT (1945) edition of Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines "Fascisti" as "an Italian organization, originated by patriots (1919) to oppose all radical elements in the country."

WILLIAM DAMON, an artist of Ocean City, New Jersey, was arrested on Sunday, July 29, while painting a portrait. Mayor Clyde Struble pointed out that a city ordinance forbids "unnecessary business" on Sunday.

ROBERT CASADESUS was the soloist in the final program of the Bach-Mozart Festival at Tanglewood, Massachusetts, August 12. A note on the printed program warned the customers: "Baldwin Piano. (Mr. Casadesus uses the Steinway Piano.)"

DETROIT, MICHIGAN, and Madison, Wisconsin, are planning to adopt the Philadelphia system of taxing the incomes of "daytime citizens," who earn their money in the cities but live in the suburbs.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Monuments of Old Germany

BY LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

Somewhere in Germany

ONE OF THE HAPPIER aspects of the late war is the almost complete survival of the glories of French monumental building, and of the paintings, sculpture, and furnishings which adorn them. This extraordinary circumstance is due to a combination of causes, primarily the realistic and considered policy of French museum directors. Objects from museums were stored in dispersed castles, and a list of the repositories where they were placed (not, as the romantic reporters write, "hidden") was given to a neutral legation for transmission to belligerent bomber-commands. The German Occupation Monuments Service, originated in the First World War under Dr. Paul Clemens, the distinguished art historian, then at the University of Bonn, was revived for the present conflict by a group of Francophile scholars, many of whom had been trained by Clemens at Bonn.

It should be understood that the Monument Service personnel had no relation to, and were continually at odds with, the Einsatzstab Rosenberg, a well-organized body for systematic pillage, which stole on a vast scale from Allied institutions and from Allied nationals, generally Jewish. It is too early to write the history of the machinations by which France was spared its public (though not its private) collections. That story when it is finally documented will be an absorbing chapter in the ancient, Jesuitical record of the manipulation of works of art.

In Germany it has been quite different. The controlling powers of the Nazi state would not entertain the notion of defeat, and hence their protective arrangements were not worked out in advance, but rather forced upon them by the increase of the Anglo-American aerial offensive. The treasures of the Prussian state museums, a complex of collections unrivalled in the world, actually remained in Berlin until March. This appalling delay shows how completely the High Command was taken in by its own propaganda. When the director of the state museums, well over a year ago, attempted to formulate a request for the evacuation of the collections, he was informed that his attitude was dangerously defeatist. The two *Flaktürme*, Am Zoo and one at Friedrichsheim, were considered as depots, impregnable from the air. But when long-range Russian artillery finally moved up, the Minister of Education dispatched a first shipment, only about one-fourth of the holdings, to a potassium salt mine in central Germany, together with seventy-nine cases of his own library. This was done on the advice of Marshal Kesselring. Some three days after the pictures arrived, along with the entire Reich gold reserve, General Patton's infantry took the mine. The city fathers of Hamburg, on the other hand, refused in their Hanseatic pride to allow their treasure to leave the depot in the *Flakturm* at the airport.

Pictures and sculpture do not profit by travel. They rip and break. The French had time to pack properly. The German objects had been packed once for a short move, and should have been repacked. There was no time. Papyri were put in open lead cases which were crushed. The nineteenth-century French and German pictures had not even been packed. They were first sent to a mine that was wet. They were later shifted to a drier one, but half a mile down a potash mine is not a nice place for pictures. The oil or tempera surface, the patina on bronze, carries on its own chemical life and needs light and air. Otherwise deterioration sets in.

In the case of other museums, the news is better. The Walraf Richartz pictures from Cologne, the Stadel collections from Frankfurt, the principal provincial and city collections were removed from their galleries, which with some two or three exceptions have been destroyed. Where and when these collections can be displayed is a problem no one can solve for a long time.

The principal Gothic cathedrals of France and Germany stand in the midst of what is, the farther east one moves, almost absolute desolation— monuments to stubborn faith and the genius of medieval builders. Those of Aachen, Cologne, Mainz, Frankfurt, Metz, Strasbourg, and Trier, may have had their roofs burned off and the vaulting pierced, may even have sustained direct hits on side chapel or cloister, but the main skeletal vaulting has held. In Germany, excellent brick and cement *kunstschutz* for interior sculpture, which was also used on some free-standing exterior groups, has saved what could be saved.

But a very great number of churches, and a great deal of Gothic civic and domestic architecture—the central portions and marketplaces of Trier, Cologne, Mainz, Frankfurt, Wurzburg, Nuremberg, the beautiful breathing memories of the greatest epoch of pure Germanic culture, of Kaiser Maximilian and Cranach and Dürer—these are gone, *spurlos versenkt.*

Many were exercised over the fate of the Roman remains in Trier, a beautiful and severely damaged town. They came through well enough but they were already ancient ruins a thousand years ago. What did not come through were the glorious baroque palaces of the archbishops and the counts of Kessel. In the Rhine cities, the entire lengths of river banks were tactical targets, and so some of the grandest Renaissance and rococo monuments are lost. In Mainz, for example, a cluster of early medieval and baroque churches was adjacent to the citadel, and to important anti-aircraft emplacements. Now the exuberant, angel-bedecked, triumphant décor of the chorales of Bach and Buxtehude is efficiently strafed, and richly ruined. The Residenz in Wurzburg is gravely hurt but Treppenhaus, the chapel, and the Kaisersaal survive.

The horrid desolation of the German cities should, I suppose, fill us with pride. But the builders of the Kurfürstliches Palast, of the Zwinger, of Schinkel's great houses,

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and of the marketplaces of the south German cities were not the executioners of Buchenwald or Dachau. No epoch in history has produced such precious ruins. To be sure, these structures are rather *filigraine*, delicate in comparison to those of antiquity, but what they lack in scale is made up by the extensiveness of the area they cover. Fragments of elegance —and the yawning contempt for the creative impulse.

There is little use in trying to figure out now what can eventually be done. Should the cities be built again around the focus of surviving cathedrals? Can the church summon enough strength for restoration? And where are the transport, the gasoline, the manpower, the materials which are necessary to clear away the solid ruins, even before any rebuilding can be considered? Will the Tiepolo ceiling in the Residenz, lacking a roof, survive the summer rains?

In the meantime, the little our armies can do is done. I can speak only of the Third, but it is the same in the others. Our Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives officer is Captain Robert Posey, a New York architect. He can at least request first-aid repairs for endangered roofs and walls, place certain sites off limits to prevent deterioration, and remove pictures and books to safer places if they are in danger.

A while ago Captain Posey turned up the library of the German Foreign Office in a dance-hall in a tiny inn. It was founded by the Great Elector in 1680, and it contained among other things the files of the *Congressional Record* complete through 1943! There were also brass-band parts for every nation in the world, including Guatemala. The director, who had come with the books, was the fox-type, von Papenesque permanent state servant. He let us know he expected us to find the three other carloads of books which had been dispatched a month before. Clearly it was our fault that they had not arrived. It was very important, for the Foreign Office holdings were unique, and three million books at least had been burned in Germany since the aerial offensive started. Captain Posey and I had the same thought: the Nazis couldn't have burned three million books. That's a lot of anti-fascist literature. The Nazis didn't burn them. We did.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE CONVENTIONAL ANTHOLOGY consists of variations on a single theme and is by its very nature impersonal. One would not think of reading it as if it were a "real" book. Yet I did just that with "The Reader's Companion" by Louis Kronenberger (Viking, $2). It is a selection of prose and poetry which Mr. Kronenberger enjoys and expects to read again and again. The book contains a wide variety of good writing, including light verse and aphorisms, which yields its own intrinsic satisfactions; but the volume has another sort of interest too. There is a pleasurable suspense in exploring a man's taste. Moreover, taste is so personal a matter that a true exposition of it is a form of characterization. Mr. Kronenberger, one is convinced, has been very conscientious in "giving himself away," and has made no concessions to considerations other than his personal preferences. I happen to like his taste, perhaps because it so often coincides with my own—and the fact, for instance, that he too likes Blake's poem "Ah, Sun-flower, weary of time" is to me somehow more convincing evidence of good character than the most fulsome "reference" he could produce. But the pleasures of disagreeing are also open to the reader. The point is that "The Reader's Companion" is not only a good collection; it also has the charm and interest of a personal communication—which makes it far more lively than the usual anthology.

THE ALCOHOLIC INTERPRETATION of the behavior of Congressmen and diplomats—a Washington psychiatrist says they drink too much—has its charms. It may even have validity in certain cases. But it would be unfair to the highball, the sidecar, the Alexander, to charge them with all the sins of Congressmen. Theodore Bilbo doesn't drink. Or of the State Department—I can't imagine Mr. Hull, for instance, entertaining the "inebriating impulse." Teetotalers are capable of an intoxication quite as dangerous as that derived from honest Scotch. Hitler did not drink—and the Pétain trial reminds us that during one period at least the trouble with the State Department was that it was swallowing too much Vichy.

THE VIKING PRESS has issued an "errata pamphlet" containing "Corrections of Misprints in Finnegans Wake by James Joyce, As Prepared by the Author after Publication of the First Edition." It is available, at a charge of ten cents, to libraries and to individuals who have copies of the novel. It is surely the most extraordinary collection of errata ever printed. Item: Page 10 line 34 from top . . . for "pelfalittle-gnarlybird" read "pelfalittle gnarlybird." Joyce anticipated the scientists. All of a generation ago he split the atom of language and released the hidden powers of the word.

THE ATOMIC BOMB, by the way, has made at least one expression obsolete. "Blown to atoms" will have to be retired.

A SUCCESSFUL AUTHOR, who read my note about Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and the reader's fee of $7.50 which it offered to a literary critic, contributes an account of his own experience. He was asked by one of the big companies to do a piece of publicity for a moving picture.

> I was sent the script [he writes] and a lot of hand-painted illustrations for the theaters. I set to work and did a thousand-word piece about it. I sent it in but held on to the material. After a while I wrote to know what the payment would be. I was told in a frightened telegram that they had no appropriation to pay for this. I put the matter in the hands of my agent, who got busy. Backed into a corner they managed to scrape the bottom of the till and found $100.
>
> Not long ago my agent queried me about a script. I happened to have the material in mind for such a script. I had a long encouraging letter from the head man in New York, and I set to work on a scenario. I spent eleven days on it. The two head men in New York liked it so much they air-mailed it at once to Hollywood. There it

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was thrown into the ash-can by Mister Big, and I got nothing.

SPEAKING OF HOLLYWOOD, a writer who recently took a short turn at working there notes in a letter: "Life here is not so strange once you cut clear of the moving picture industry." She also notes that "California is quite full of climate," which reminds me of the delightful remark of a friend who on going to that fabulous state wrote that he had been cast into outer sunshine.

Dutch History

EVOLUTION OF THE DUTCH NATION. By Bernard H. M. Vlekke. Roy Publishers. $3.50.

A CENTURY ago Dutch Catholics did not write history. They were treated as second-class citizens by the ruling Protestant majority. Dutch schoolbooks taught that the rise of the Dutch Republic was due to the Calvinist revolt against the Catholic sovereign who, being also King of Spain, ruled the Netherlands as an absentee landlord from his palace in Madrid. The Catholics, therefore, had failed the cause of the Dutch fight for freedom, and their nineteenth-century descendants had to be grateful for the tolerance that granted them citizenship in a Calvinist nation for whose emergence from serfdom they could not claim any credit.

They refused to be grateful. They denied that the country's liberation from Spanish rule was an exclusively Calvinist achievement. They found an able spokesman in the physician Willem Nuyens, whose hobby was historical research. In his leisure hours he wrote in vindication of his fellow religionists and sought to prove that the Catholics in the time of William the Silent had had an equal share with the Protestants in the Dutch fight for freedom. Nuyens was one of the leaders of the Catholic revival which won for the members of the Church of Rome in Holland not only full equality with the non-Catholic majority but also prominence in scholarship, letters, art, and politics.

Dr. Vlekke is one among many Catholic scholars of distinction who now bring credit to the nation whose loyal sons they are. It goes without saying that Dr. Vlekke's portrayal of the evolution of the Dutch nation differs widely from the traditional Calvinist picture. He does not deny that the revolt under the leadership of the Prince of Orange was a fight for freedom, but he does not subscribe to the theory that the forces unchained by that revolt worked the chemistry by which the disparate elements of the Dutch populace were solidified into a nation. That chemical process, he believes, was already at work in the late Middle Ages. The county of Holland with the diocese of Utrecht, the county of Flanders with the Duchy of Brabant formed two political units whose common source of prosperity was their participation in sea-borne commerce. The Dukes of Burgundy found in these provinces the mainstay of their expansionist policy. That policy would not have succeeded so well in binding the Low Countries together if the Dutch subjects they acquired had not been willing to be united. The Dukes met with opposition, to be sure, but the majority of the State Assemblies in their patrimonial provinces was on their side. These provinces formed the nucleus of the nation that later emerged and received its charter in the treaty of Ghent of November 8, 1576. It was a shortlived unit. Political integration was thwarted by religious dissension. The leading classes in the southern provinces, being conservative and Catholic, feared Calvinist radicalism more than Spanish domination, and seceded from the union with the North. Thus came about that regrettable cleavage between the northern and southern Netherlands which in the early sixteenth century seemed predestined for national unity. For a brief period after Napoleon's fall the two were reunited, but Netherland and Belgium, as they are now called, persist by force of tradition and adverse circumstance in their reciprocal aloofness.

Since Dr. Vlekke traces the unifying tendencies to a period prior to the revolt it is only natural that in his view the commanding figure of the Prince of Orange looms less large than he does in historical tradition. This is not stated by way of criticism. On the contrary, the author's unorthodox concept of the forces which formed the Dutch nation makes his book all the more interesting. He has complete mastery over the recalcitrant material and his style is so readable that his learning does not annoyingly obtrude. I know of no other Hollander in the United States who could guide Americans as expertly through the maze of Dutch history.

A. J. BARNOUW

B. H. Haggin is on vacation. His column will be resumed in the issue of September 8.

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BRIEFER COMMENT

The Rule of Law

EMERY REVES'S new book "The Anatomy of Peace" (Harper, $2) reminds me of the guest at a *New Yorker* cocktail party who protested, "Sure, I can think of repartee, too, but I can't shout loud enough." Mr. Reves is forceful, interesting, and dead right on many things. But he roars like the Bull of Bashan and he never will have done with his points. At the close of the book he is still excitedly throwing in remarks the substance of which he has used again and again.

But this is certainly not just another of the peace books. Its central thesis is that the trouble in the world is due to the preservation of antiquated, and fatal, ideas of national sovereignty in a world of industrialism. There is absolutely no remedy but the abandonment of nationalism; of itself that remedy will suffice.

The exposition proceeds in a familiar way. Capitalism has failed as a polity as it has failed as a productive and distributive system. Socialism has failed. Even when it denounced nationalism, socialism did nothing effective to resist it in moments of crisis. And now that the Soviet Union has become nationalist, socialism is even more a delusion. Religion has failed. It does not and cannot be expected ever to appeal to enough people with enough force to restore true political catholicity.

Within any country, Mr. Reves argues, order, peace, and liberty have been the creations of law and of nothing else. The same will turn out to be true for the world as a whole. Today's internationalism is fallacious, for it rests upon unsurrendered national sovereignty; self-determination has the same defect. Collective security is just as much an illusion and for the same reason. Mr. Reves's argument is presented with ruthless force and absolute sincerity, but his unconcealable weakness is that he refuses to confront the next question. What sort of action is required to make nations surrender their absolute sovereignty? For Mr. Reves, forceful insistence on his doctrine is the essential, for he believes that it can stand and be effective without doctrinal context. The Socialist who accepts his main point will still believe that radical reconstruction of society is a necessary condition or concomitant of the intellectual and emotional revolution the author demands.

RALPH BATES

Things Not Caesar's

THERE WILL ALWAYS be an England. I trust there will always be Butlers, Beefeaters, and Belted Earls, even under a Labor government. And I devoutly hope there will always be *The Times*. The charm of Charles Morgan's essays, "Reflections in a Mirror" (Macmillan, $2.50), is their timely timelessness. London was blitzed and robot-bombed: but "Menander" kept writing of Why Birds Sing, of Ivan Turgenev, of Nausicaa and the Pelicans.

This is not aloofness, heroic or callous. Charles Morgan does not ignore the giant sorrows of the world. But, in his quest for values, he realizes that life does not exist only for the moment's sake. Under many forms there is a single inquiry throughout the book: the conflict between The Mighty Strong Beast, the collective, and the Uncommon Man. Perhaps he has not made a sufficient effort to understand "the Common Man"; the dreary average he depicts is not a foe quite worthy of his rapier. In his final essay, On Unrelated Knowledge, he expresses the conviction that man is most truly himself when he lives by law. But there is no law of the uncommon: the law is common ground, the rules that apply to our common humanity. No government, no church, no culture, can live under anarchy. The domain of the law, i.e., that which is common to men, is vast and expanding. This apparent contradiction is not resolved by the author. However, I am more than willing to admit that there are things which are not Caesar's—things which dwell beyond government, church, and culture, above the law.

Two quotations, in a different line of thought: "The evidences of strength in our civilization . . . in the proofs which reach us in increasing strength that in France, in Scandinavia, in all the occupied territories, desire for the reintegration of a free Europe is burning and effective." "The ideas of the Roman Empire, of the Papacy, and more distantly of Athens, have all served to establish, as a reality in the human mind, the idea of European coherence. If it were not a concept with power over thought, the Germans would not have troubled to represent their aggression as an attempt to establish a new European order." Only our intellectual sloth and our faint-heartedness prevent us from acknowledging this obvious fact.

ALBERT GUERARD

The Two Chinas

MOST BOOKS ON CHINA suffer from too great an absorption with one or another of the two Chinas. Observers who have visited in Chungking territory tend either to ignore Communist China or to parrot Kuomintang propaganda about alleged Communist atrocities. The few observers who have visited the so-called border areas are naturally concerned primarily with recounting the achievements and problems of Communist China. Mr. Rosinger, Far Eastern expert of the Foreign Policy Association, has performed a unique service in "China's Crisis" (Alfred A. Knopf, $3) by giving us a balanced picture of the two Chinas at the most critical stage in the emergence of the Chinese people into the modern world. He stresses the constructive achievements of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, but he does not gloss over the corruption, sloth, and open collaboration with the enemy that have persisted in Chungking throughout the war.

It is doubtful whether anyone can read this book without being gravely concerned regarding the wisdom of recent American policy in apparently throwing its weight on the side of the groups which would keep China under the yoke of the past. Yet on the whole it is an optimistic book. Mr. Rosinger is convinced that despite its many weaknesses and the shortcomings of its leaders, China will emerge from the war the dominant power of the East. But its strength and the welfare of its people will depend largely on its ability to achieve unity without a bloody internal conflict. The prevention of such a conflict is a challenge to the best statesmanship not only of China but of America, Britain, and the Soviet Union.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

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VERSE CHRONICLE

Four Canadians

OF THE Canadian poets in this group, Ralph Gustafson appears to be least conscious of his nationality as implying any special predicament or being the source of any distinctive twist of sensibility. Apart from a few local references, the lyrics that make up "Flight Into Darkness" (Pantheon, $2) are quite in the vein of recent Anglo-American verse. In them anxiety over the state of the world alternates with themes of private love; and the writing, loaded with surprising adjectives, is eager to announce itself as modern. How little appropriate this modern manner is to the thinking core of the poems can be seen by inspecting closely almost any one of them. In Dedication, for example, the poet rejects the usual practice of honoring the war dead with conventional memorials and proposes to show what a soldier's death really implies. But the demonstration turns out to consist largely in declaimers, exclamatory remarks, and lists of objects notoriously more pleasing to poets than to actual boys:

> You who live, see! These,
> These were his hills where laughter was
> And counted years of longing, grain
> And wintry apples scorched in sun,
> Of corded hemlock deep in snow.

In both a political and a psychological sense, F. R. Jones is more aware than Gustafson of being a Canadian. Naturally this alone would not make him superior, nor is he so in fact. His being a Canadian, although it is for him a great source of ideas, is unfortunately not a cause of much originality in the texture of his poetry. In "Overture" (Bruce Humphries, $2.50) one group of poems explores his reactions to the Canadian landscape. Here the precious "North Woods" of the tourist emerge as a bleak, uncreated region of rock and forest intersected by the too elemental, too relentlessly flowing St. Lawrence.

> a quiet calling
> of no mind
> out of long æons
> when dust was blind
> and ice hid sound
>
> only a moving
> with no note
> granite lips
> a stone throat

Obviously the landscape embodies for Jones some uncongenial sentiment of geological timelessness. Why is he satisfied to state it in imagist verse so conventional that the total effect is only a slight shudder? Another group of his poems is made up of satires on local politics and literary life written from the point of view of a Marxist and anti-provincial. Many of these are amusing:

> and he the last dot in the sky
> did but accentuate an i
> now you may see him virginal
> content to live in montreal.

In a note on the jacket, E. K. Brown, the critic of Canadian poetry, says of Jones that "he has contrived to find for his social ideas forms at once simple and beautifully designed." On the contrary he has found them ready-made in Cummings, early Eliot, and others; and this derivativeness is all the more inhibiting in that it is so clever. One poem even undertakes to promote the revolution in the sleepy rhythms of The Garden of Proserpine:

> Till power is brought to pooling
> And outcasts share in ruling
> There will not be an ending
> Nor any peace for spending.

One mentions the derivativeness of Jones's verse forms only because it is so clear a hindrance to the development of a Canadian poetry. He is in the position of those American poets of pre-Whitman days who labored futilely to write about American experience in the manner of Byron or Tennyson.

Patrick Anderson and Irving Layton are probably the most interesting poets of this group. In "A Tent For April" (First Statement, Montreal, $1) Anderson produces a wandering, gracefully-awkward verse as if to amuse himself on a rainy day; and we do not need to look at the jacket biography to guess that he was at Oxford in the '30's.

> These to whom everything happens but history
> Continually wash with cold water of their eyes
> The world, etc.

Yet within these too relaxed impromptus is a great deal of striking fantasy and comment, and considerable feeling for local sights and moods. Like F. R. Jones, Anderson perceives in the North a "vehement loneliness" together with a slightly wearying air of perpetual promise everlastingly unfulfilled; but Anderson throws a wider net and brings up more suggestive images:

> I cannot tell the boredom from the dream
> sleep from these trees
> the vacant air from the wind's pale Utopias . . .

Anderson's cultivated ease is entirely absent from Irving Layton's 'Here and Now" (First Statement, Montreal, $1). Layton writes out of a stark plebeian experience among the waterfronts, redlight districts, and Jewish neighborhoods of Montreal, where it seems always to be a very dark night. These experiences he translates into descriptive satires akin to those of Karl Shapiro but not at all dependent on them.

> O reptilian streets whose scaly limbs
> Are crooked stairways and the grocery store,
> Isolate, is your dreaming half shut eye:
> Each virgin at the barricaded door
> Feels your tongue-kiss like a butterfly.

As in this passage, the anger is always leaping right out of Layton's poems and at your throat, often busting up the poems in the process. Yet for all their snarling, bottom-dog attitudes they often succeed in convincing us of their reality.

F. W. DUPEE

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